

Discourse between Criminalization and Marginalization (Teks Analysis)

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Abstract. This study aims to determine the Criminalization Discourse in the News Text "Tiran Tiran dari Tanah Wadas", as the object of research published in Tempo magazine edition of 28 February-6 March 2022. The research approach is qualitative using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis study. The subjects analyzed are criminalization and marginalization contained in the text. The research data was obtained through literature study, observation, in-depth interviews, documentation, and online data searching. The results showed that the criminalization discourse in the news text "Pelawan Tiran Dari Tanah Wadas" contained three stages according to the critical discourse analysis according to Norman Fairclough: The text includes representation, relations, and identity, where the siege of hundreds of TNI and Polri officers with criminalization and repressive actions is an effort the government to accelerate the mining plan by coercion and overriding the rights of the Wadas villagers to maintain their living space. Discourse Practice which focuses on the production and consumption of texts, Tempo as a press institution has a social control role, in this case trying to raise the voice and rights of Wadas citizens through their writings, to help criticize the policies of the Indonesian government. The conclusion of this study shows that the practice of criminalization and marginalization occurs in the field, acts arbitrarily, and overrides the right to life and the consent of the residents of Wadas Village to defend Wadas land. Along with that, the researchers found the ideology behind the news, namely the existence of a populist ideology.

Keywords: discourse, criminalization, marginalization, critical discourse analysis, wadas

1. Introduction

Criminalization becomes an act or justification for an action that is claimed to be wrong or deviant, nowadays it is not a stranger to the social reality that is happening¹. According to procedural law, this action can be punishable by criminal law and ends up being criminalized. This condition seems to be occurring more and more frequently in the midst of the chaotic polemics between society and the government and officials, over various policies designed and ratified by the current President Jokowi's regime. One thing that must be underlined from this criminalization practice is great consideration in determining the perpetrators and their actions, so that there are no misdirected targets and do not cause legal harm and uphold justice².

The incessant policies launched by the government to reorganize every sector of life, reaped a large and diverse response from elements of society, this was interpreted through rallies and other acts of struggle. Currently, the phenomena and projections that are being and will be realized have sparked the attention of the wider community, namely the Andesite Mining Plan in Wadas Village, Bener District, Purworejo Regency for the purposes of building the Bener Dam which is located in the same

area³. It was this plan that ultimately triggered the rejection of the origin of the Wadas people. because it is claimed that the mining plan will take up the living space of the Wadas residents.

Based on the February 28 edition of Tempo Magazine entitled "Tyrant fighters from Tanah Wadas" written by Raymundus Rikang, it was revealed that some of the Wadas people have been against the andesite mining plan for years. Accompanied by a number of activists, they faced a lot of intimidation. After the attack occurred on February 8, they did not give up on refusing to mine even though they were haunted by heavy stress due to violence from the security forces. In practice, problems erupted between the local people and the officers assigned to secure the area, on 7 and 8 February 2022 to be precise. The initial trigger started when a number of joint police, army, and Satpol PP officers, complete with weapons, entered Wadas village, which tasked with monitoring and securing the activities of officers of the State Land Agency (BPN) who carry out land measurements in the village.

According to the news in the media crew, Julian Dwi Prasetya as a public lawyer from LBH Yogyakarta, during this incident as many as 64 people were arrested, 10 of them were minors. This reality has become an act of criminalizing officials against residents who refuse to release the 124 hectare land area which is intended for andesite stone mining for the construction of the Bener dam. However, in reality the project has been approved based on the Decree of the Governor of Central Java number 509/41/2018, Wadas Village has been designated as an andesite mining location for material for the construction of the Bener Dam project⁴. Based on the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia number 109 of 2020, the Bener Dam is included as one of the National Strategic Projects (PSN) under the government of President Joko Widodo, with a total of 201 PSNs, and 48 of them are in the dam infrastructure development sector.

It seems to be a great beacon, symbolizing a new polemic over social and political construction among the people and the hustle and bustle of the democratic process in Indonesia. the attitude of resistance represented by the Wadas Village community used several of its demands, namely the revocation of the Location Determination Permit (IPL), and demanding that the perpetrators of violence by the community apparatus be tried, these two contexts became one of the examples of public polemic using the government and apparatus regarding various agrarian cases in the country.

To dissect a discourse, the researcher determines the criminalization of the people of Wadas Village, to be a discourse for receiving an enlightenment and critical understanding, which will be constructed and interpreted in every substance. Language practices that emerge will be related using context, meaning, custom to the goals and practices of a power.

From the description and background of the problem above, referring to the narration of the 27 February-6 March 2022 edition of Tempo Magazine about "Fighting Tyrants from Wadas Land", and observing the development of conflicts in the field through media reports, the researcher formulates the problem "How to Discourse on the Criminalization of Villagers Wadas?"

1. What are the dimensions of the Discourse Text on the Criminalization of Wadas Villagers?
2. What is the Discourse practice process for the Criminalization of Wadas Village Residents?
3. What is the Sociocultural Practice of Criminalizing Wadas Villagers?

The results of this research are expected to add insight and produce solutions for people's lives to understand and be active regarding the social reality that occurs. Communication is a fundamental need for humanity, as a way to obtain sustainable social interactions and relations. And if applied correctly it is able to prevent and eliminate conflict, be it personal, between groups to between nations. Mass

communication is a type of communication that functionally can reach a wide audience, through a medium in a certain context, quickly, broadly and simultaneously⁵.

Criminalization was stated by Soerjono Soekanto in his book *Criminology An Introduction*, that criminalization is an act or determination of the authorities regarding certain actions which are considered by the community or groups of people as acts that can be criminalized into criminal acts or make an action into a criminal act and therefore can be punished by the government by working on his behalf⁶. Discourse is a narrative of systematic thought which is interpreted through social action, with the aim of constructing or maintaining a social reality. The benefit of a framework is to provide an orientation or direction for the research process in order to create a correlated point of view between the researcher and the audience regarding each line of thought of the researcher.

2. Research Methods

The research method acts as a scalpel of a study, which will find the root causes of an object of research in a certain way. The method used by researchers is a qualitative research method, which is based on the interpretation of the author or researcher².

In this qualitative research, the researcher uses the Fairclough approach model which focuses on the up-to-date Text, Social Practice and Socio-Cultural Practice. The way to test the credibility of the data is done by extending observations, increasing persistence in research, triangulation, and discussions with colleagues⁷.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Texts

Indonesia is in the midst of an agrarian emergency, plans for mining development are everywhere, not going hand in hand with the living conditions of the people whose land is the target of the government's development project plans. turn the andesite mining into a supplier of raw materials for the dam project in Bener sub-district. Various efforts were made by the authorities with outreach, to public consultations for land acquisition, as well as other efforts. but unfortunately, not all of these efforts run democratically, some activities trigger suspicion to the point where it has implications for the occurrence of friction among residents and parties involved⁸. Government approaches that are inappropriate and seem coercive, in the end trigger resistance in society. based on the news text "Tyrant Warriors From Wadas Land" of Tempo magazine written by Raymundus Rikang and his team, villagers have been fighting for years to defend their land. A text does not stop at just showing how an object is described, but is deeper and broader than that, but also how between objects are defined, between actors or public participants are described. regarding the construction of an andesite stone mining project with criminalization and marginalization discourse, becomes a binding core in this news text.

According to the researcher, the marginalization discourse embedded in this news is used by the authorities to weaken the existence and resistance of the Wadas people who reject the andesite mining plan that has been stipulated by the governor's decree as IPL.

The testimonies of residents who objected here to being victims of the apparatus' atrocities, as an effort to silence the voice and citizens' right to refuse. In the text of the news it is written that the residents have "for years" been fighting for the sake of defending their land, but in reality on the ground, the demands of the residents have never been heard of and have never been heard before in the State Administrative Court⁹. From the perspective of researchers, this is valid practice of marginalization from the government to the Wadas community. Marginalization itself is a condition or phenomenon in society

which always results in a person or group being marginalized or limited in full power over their right to life, both in socio-cultural, economic and political aspects¹⁰.

3.2 Discourse Practice

From the results of the interviews, the researcher concluded that the discourse behind the making of this news text was the government's silencing of the voices of the people and their demands which were not responded to at all, therefore the tempo media in the context of this news by Raymundus rikang, Budiarti Utami Putri, Francisca Christy Rosana, Sguntah Maharani, tried to bring social reality and the discourse within it to the surface with findings in the field, which had previously been investigated, observed and searched for data which was carried out in a timeframe of 2021 and a week to a week after the incident on 8 February 2022 in Wadas village. In the scope above, the researcher formulates all of this in the practice of community marginalization. As well as referring to the role of the mass media or the press which incidentally according to article 1 point (1) of Law no. 40 of 1999 concerning the Press defines "the press" as a social institution and vehicle for mass communication that carries out journalistic activities, including seeking, obtaining, possessing, storing, processing and conveying information in the form of writing, sound, images, sound and images, as well as data. and graphics and electronic media, and all available channels¹¹.

The press should be able to implement social control which has implications for preventing abuse of authority, which in this case is land acquisition for mining areas by means of deviation and abuse of power. Therefore, it is hoped that the presence of every press agency is able to support or improve justice, social control within its limits. Based on the results of the analysis, the researcher found that there was a democratic process that did not work as it should, as well as conditions of criminalization with the aim of silencing those who were claimed to be responsible for the movement and resistance of Wadas residents, all of these were practices of hegemony or government domination through its instruments. To this day, hindering or silencing what the people of Wadas want to voice, they wrote "Fighting the Tyrants from the Land of Wadas" as a representation of the struggle of the Wadas people who want to find justice for their problems so far related to the andesite mining plan.

3.3 Sociocultural Practice

Sociocultural practice is a dimension that reveals events that develop in society which are found in the process of text production and text reproduction by analyzing situational, institutional and social situations.

a. Situational

The era of the government of the Jokowi regime, Volume two, which began on October 20 2019, has indeed had big plans and many of them are related to Jokowi's "developmentism" discourse. Massive and evenly distributed infrastructure development in all corners is predicted to be the fundamental reason for Indonesia's future progress. In essence, the existence of development goals is to achieve or create prosperity for every layer of society. This is agreed by Professor Goulet, that development is seen as a new vision to achieve a better life, apart from being a vision, development is also carried out in a planned manner. He also stated that there are three dimensions that must be met in such development, including social, economic and political aspects¹². It seems that these three aspects were not found as material for consideration by the government in carrying out its plans, starting from the economic aspect, the majority of the residents there incidentally are farmers and gardeners, if the project is carried out, it is certain that the fate of the residents will lose their livelihoods, the point is what the government is doing is hegemonic practice, only then did the researcher look at the political aspect, the residents had agreed to reject the mine plan, various actions and prosecution procedures were carried out, but what power

faced by the residents was the dominant group, namely the government, which had clearly made the development a priority scale project.

Consciously socio-cultural society will experience a shift in locality, the impact of every hegemony that is heeded through new government policies. Furthermore, on the social aspect, the Wadas land is a living space for the residents, they have built a lot of historical values there, the history of struggle, to the productive lands that they created help create a good agricultural ecosystem in the area¹³. In another situation, the resistance of the residents, especially the Wadas women who are members of the Wadas wadon, should be highlighted in the news text, the attitude of rejection and courage of the Wadas women as villagers, seems to be an example of a women's movement that is pure from the people and born naturally.

b. Institutional Dimention

Researchers see here that there is no influence or relationship with the government's interests in reporting Wadas, this is confirmed by the rikang statement, on the other hand what the editorial team wrote, is the factuality of the government's superiority in carrying out its development projects, which always use the presence of the apparatus to to secure activities, but unfortunately this condition has only worsened the condition. Repressive actions are no longer unavoidable, criminalization and intimidation are always applicable. because ideally development must rely on the interests and approval of the community as well, there is no neglect of the right to accept or reject the residents involved¹⁴

c. Social Dimention

In this news, the tempo really constructs social realities that occur in the village of Wadas, the researcher tries to divide into three aspects of this reality, one from the community context, where since 2013 the people of Wadas have anticipated plans or mining activities, starting from research, measuring , drilling, sampling to outreach. Villagers like this Wadas village, have a social life that upholds cultural values that have been passed down by Wadas elders, such as that Wadas land has treasure or something valuable in it, in this context it has many meanings, what is andesite rock, the history of the struggle of Prince Diponegoro against the colonial era, or the values of life itself¹⁵. This social character ultimately determines the actions, values, boundaries and expectations to be produced. Evidenced by the formation of Wadas community associations, such as the earthquake god, madon Wadas, all of this was created to accommodate what is troubling and what the Wadas people want in dealing with this mining conflict.

4. Conclusion

Criminalization is an action or determination of an act that is considered deviant and has implications for a criminal sanction or criminal threat, up to the addition of criminal sanctions to predetermined criminal acts. Such as the conflict faced by the residents of Wadas Village and the government through their apparatus, that the residents of Wadas Village were considered to be against and rejected the existence of an andesite stone mine in Wadas Village, efforts to reject the activities carried out by Wadas Village residents such as the blockade by the security forces in September 2021 and February 2022 or calls in the media social media, triggering repressive actions until the arrest and then 3 of the 64 residents who were arrested, were threatened with criminal sanctions under the ITE Law on the pretext that citizen police account users spread false information on social media Instagram and Twitter regarding the actual conditions in Wadas Village. In fact, the researchers also concluded that the residents of Wadas Village who refused to mine were marginalized by the government. Marginalization is a process of preventing individuals or groups from fully participating in social, economic and political aspects of social and state life. The voices and aspirations of the residents of Wadas Village regarding their rights in rejecting the

mining plan by demanding the revocation of the Location Determination Permit are an effort to defend their living space, which has not been heard since 2013 until now, the mediation process to litigation carried out from the village head, regent, BPN, up to the Administrative Court, have always been rejected and have found no solution. The researchers see this refusal as an attempt by hegemony and government discourse to expedite the completion of the mine plan.

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